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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to develop an anthropological understanding of the interactions between the special education system and such "Third World" peoples as Hispanics. An intensive 2-year ethnographic study followed the families of nine preschool Hispanic hearing-impaired children through the intake process at a special school for the deaf in the New York City area, and followed a smaller sample through the first part of the intake process in the public school system. Intake included assessment, programming, placement, and evaluation. The paper discusses practices of "noninvolvement" of Hispanic parents in educational decision-making, as well as the construction of particular ideological and social relations among participants in the intake process, including supervisors, assessment specialists, teachers, parents, and children. The progress of one family is analyzed in detail to demonstrate the social and cultural complexities of the participants' relationships. (JDD)

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GATEWAYS TO POWERLESSNESS: INCORPORATING HISPANIC DEAF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES INTO FORMAL SCHOOLING

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ABSTRACT

GATEWAYS TO POWERLESSNESS:
INCORPORATING HISPANIC DEAF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES INTO
FORMAL SCHOOLING

Because of the legal and organizational structures which are built into the special education system, its institutions provide interesting sites for the study of interactions between "Third World" peoples, such as Hispanics, and U.S. society. In some ways the sociocultural worlds of Hispanic communities have evolved in historical opposition to that of public schooling in the U.S. At the same time, many of the values associated with "mainstream" U.S. society have to some extent penetrated Hispanic communities. Interaction between these systems can result in struggles over identity, knowledge, and control over children's development and education.

In the interests of developing an anthropological understanding of these interactions, an intensive two-year ethnographic field study of the formal intake process (including assessment, programming, placement and evaluation) involving preschool-age Hispanic hearing impaired children in schools in the New York City area was conducted. This paper discusses practices of "noninvolvment" of Hispanic parents in educational decision making, as well as the construction of particular ideological and social relations between participants in the intake process, including supervisors, assessment specialists, teachers, parents and children. The progress of one family through the intake process is analyzed in detail to demonstrate the social and cultural complexities of these relationships.

GATEWAYS TO POWERLESSNESS: INCORPORATING HISPANIC DEAF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES INTO FORMAL SCHOOLING

Adrian T. Bennett

Introduction: An Ethnography of the Intake Process in Special Education Settings

In this paper I will discuss certain features of the noninvolvement of Hispanic parents in decision-making processes which influence their deaf children's early transition into formal schooling. The discussion is based on a two-year ethnographic study (1984-86) of the "intake process" of preschool-age Hispanic deaf children.(1) The intake process is governed by federal (eg., PL 94-142) and state (in New York State, Part 200 of the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education) laws. These laws specify that all handicapped children have a right to a formal public education. The laws provide a regulatory framework for assessment, educational programming, decision-making, legal redress, parent involvement, and other matters affecting the handicapped.

Our ethnographic study followed the families of nine Hispanic deaf children, ages 3-6, through the intake process in a "private" school for the deaf, which I shall call "Concordia," in the metropolitan area of New York City. We also followed a

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smaller sample through the first part of this process in the New York City public school system.

The families represented only some of the extensive variety of Hispanics living in the New York area. Some were Puerto Rican, born either in Puerto Rico or the U.S. mainland. Some were from Central and South America, and some were Dominican. They varied to some extent in class terms, with one very middle class Uruguayan/American family, the father of which was a self-employed businessman and a university graduate. The mother of another of our children was a Dominican whose father had been a career diplomat. But the rest of our families were either working class or had a very marginal relationship to the labor market.

Figures 1 and 2 provide immigration history, job status, education, and other information on the families.

[place figures 1 and 2 about here]

I refer to them as "Third World people" to emphasize their status as--with the one or two exceptions already mentioned--an oppressed class of people with close familial, cultural and other social ties to countries whose economies are largely controlled by interests based in highly developed First World countries, primarily western European or North American. They were also members of communities with a very "disadvantaged" position in a metropolitan center in the U.S., as indicated by several recently released reports which document high poverty levels and

unemployment rates. Of those lucky enough to find employment, they usually hold jobs in the low skilled, highly unstable "service" sector where low wages, lack of benefits, and job insecurity are the norm (GACHA 1985; APRED 1985; Stafford 1985). These reports document the general and increasing deprivation of educational, health and social services which in earlier decades helped to compensate for the disadvantages of inner city life and membership in certain ethnic minority or poor white groups (ASPIRA 1983; Grossman 1984). Some recent reports have documented that, in New York City, conditions for these groups are becoming worse (Tobier 1984). Although I cannot discuss in detail here the implications of these facts about the social, political and economic status of Hispanic communities in New York, it is worth keeping in mind in the following discussion, as it formed an important background to our data collection and analysis.

In New York State, the intake process in special education includes several institutionalized steps purportedly designed to implement federal and state regulations. These steps involve a series of formalized interactions in which the child is assessed, recommendations are made by testing specialists, supervisors or teachers, a formal document--the Individualized Educational Program, or IEP--is produced, meetings between parents and staff are held to discuss all this, and the parent is asked to sign the final version of the document (v. Fig. 3).

[place figure 3 about here]

The IEP has a quasi-contractual character, and was supposedly intended by legislators to provide parents with some oversight of and participation in educational decision-making processes involving their handicapped child. PL 94-142 states that local education agencies

> shall. . . establish a goal of providing full educational opportunities to all handicapped children, including. . .the participation and consultation of the parents or guardian [of the child].

Although the law does not specify the precise nature of this participation, the National Center for Law and the Deaf notes that

> A school violates Pl 94-142 if it draws up an IEP and merely presents it to parents for their consent. Parents work with school officials to develop it (NCLD 1984).

Defining the Problem

Because of the legislative and bureaucratic framework which is built into the special education system, its institutions provide interesting sites for the study of a number of social and educational issues. Our project was particularly interested in addressing issues involving the interaction of members of Hispanic communities with public institutions, in this case with public schooling.

Our ethnographic study was concerned with a small piece of the more general relationship of subordination which forms an essential part of the context in which Hispanic communities find

themselves in the United States. Our assumption is that any understanding of this relationship must come to terms with the social processes of daily life in which that relationship is produced and sustained. With this in mind, we focused our attention on two interrelated aspects of the intake process: the children's response to their initiation into formal schooling, and the interaction between these children's families and special education institutions. In this paper, I will focus primarily on certain aspects of the second of these concerns, i.e., the interaction of the Hispanic parents with the school.

Figure 3 provides some indication of data collection methods at each stage of the intake process. These included participant observation, electronic recording, review of relevant written documents, and informal interviewing of key participants. Our methodological and analytic framework derives partially from work in the sociolinguistics of interpersonal communication (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b), the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974; Bauman and Sherzer 1974), and the microethnography of classroom interaction (Erickson 1977; Green and Wallat 1981). This work provided us with a systematic methodological framework for describing communicative events and for teasing out the "rules" involved in conveying specific communicative intents and "negotiating" what Gumperz (1982a) calls the "situated meanings" of interpersonal interaction. It thus provides a basis for describing the communicative and cultural systems it is presumed people must share in order to participate appropriately in what

Wittgenstein (1958) labeled the "language games" of everyday life.

At the same time, this approach to social analysis, which Gumperz (1982a) labels "interactional sociolinguistics," brings with it certain limitations which we knew from the outset would have to be overcome. Various critics have noted these limitations. One major critique, made by a number of writers (Ogbu 1981; McDermott and Gospodinoff 1981; Bennett 1981, 1985), is that this tradition overemphasizes "local" or "micro" levels of interaction to the neglect of those larger social forces--political and economic, as well as social and cultural--which everyone agrees are necessarily related to the "local." A related weakness is the inability, or perhaps unwillingness, to look at dimensions of power, including domination of one group by another, as well as resistance to domination (Giroux 1983; Sola and Bennett 1985).

An even more fundamental critique would be to question the concept of culture prevalent in work produced in the sociolinguistics of discourse tradition. This is the notion that "culture" consists of shared systems of belief, knowledge, communicative habits, etc. It is a notion that has come increasingly under attack in the anthropological literature (e.g., Wolf 1982; Comaroff 1985; Marcus and Fischer 1985). The problem with this notion, which admittedly has a certain aura of commonsense about it, is that it fails to account for the maintenance of unequal social relations over extended periods of time, a prominent feature of complex human social systems. These

systems may involve, for example, the rigid stratification between elites, priests, artisans and laborers common to the ancient "hydraulic" civilizations of Mesopotamia, or the stratified citystate trading networks of MesoAmerica and the Andes. Or they may involve the class structures of modern in -strial states. Other types of stratification are also found in the cultures of the world. The point is that within these social systems conflicts of interests may well exist between or within social subgroups, with the result that not all cultural practices or features are shared across or even within those subgroups.

The degree to which sharing occurs is thus problematic and a matter of empirical investigation. Members of the same social group by one set of criteria--"ethnicity,"--may at one and the same time also be identified as members of other groups identifiable by other criteria--for example, through gender or class, relations. It is quite possible for the same individuals to be identified with different groups in different situations, and these serial identifications may in fact be in conflict with each other. The notion that membership in a cultural group is based on shared traditions can be misleading. At its worst it tends to reduce group members to the status of "cultural idiots" or automatons who simply adopt and carry on the ways of the preceding generation, unless forced to do otherwise. At best it leads us to ignore the conflicts people deal with in their daily lives, and makes it difficult to explain why particular cultural practices are shared while others are not. For example, although

all of our case study families were "Hispanic" and spoke Spanish, there were important differences between them which sometimes made it difficult for them to relate to each other, and which also resulted in rather different relationships to professional school staff. These differences cannot be explained away as chance "individual differences," since they had much to do with each family's history, relationship to the labor market, and social position with respect to both Hispanic communities and to "mainstream" U.S. society.

A somewhat different approach to the study of culture and communication problematizes the notion of culture as shared patterns and emphasizes instead a concept of culture as a constant process in which social groups develop responses to the social, ideational, and material conditions in which they find themselves at a particular historical moment. Scholars who take this view see the social world as "the constant construction and reconstruction of groups, boundaries and relations" (Connell 1983). It views culture as a process in which

> groups are known to exploit the ambiguities of inherited forms, to impart new evaluations or valences to them, to borrow forms more expressive of their interests, or to create wholly new forms to answer to changed circumstances (Wolf 1982, 387).

In the same vein, I favor an approach to communication and interaction (discourse) that understands, in Bakhtin's (1981) words, that language

> is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated--overpopulated--with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process (Bakhtin 1981, 294).

Those who work in the sociolinguistics of discourse tradition have, for the most part, focussed on isolating patterns of communicative behavior and implicit rules which are consistent across particular instances of communicative events. Thus their intense focus on defining those events and describing the minute particulars of communicative behavior within them. In examining the construction of social relations, these researchers concentrate on participants' knowledge and use of "appropriate" communicative patterns and rules--"appropriate" in the sense of being able to engage each other in sustained interaction and to agree on mutually-constructed understandings of each other's communicative intent. This collection of patterns and rules has been aptly referred to in the literature as "participant structures" (Philips 1975).

Bakhtin, on the other hand, argued for a view of discoures as a "struggle of voices," i.e.,

> an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values (Bakhtin 1981, p. 346).

In this view, to limit our analysis of human interaction to the description of recurrent and "shared" surface and underlying patterns is to ignore what social process is all about, i.e., a struggle for meaning, truth, social position, material resources, and power.

Language in use takes on a rather different coloring from this perspective. Bakhtin felt that

> it is possible to give a concrete and detailed analysis of any utterance as a contradiction-ridden, tension-

> filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of language (Bakhtin 1981, p. 272).

These "tendencies" are social and ideological at the same time, involving human beings in a struggle both to differentiate themselves from each other, and to enlist solidarity and mutual support, to engage in conflict on the one hand, and to form communities on the other. Rather than trying to describe "participant structures," then, we might try to characterize instead "participant struggles."

Participant Struggles (In general)

With these arguments about culture and communication in mind, we can turn now to a closer look at some of our data. Though we began by focusing closely on specific interactions, we found ourselves asking somewhat different questions about those interactions, and having to go beyond the structures of speech events themselves to answer them. It became clear early on that participants themselves were quite concerned with establishing certain rights and responsibilities in their social relationships, or with the means various participants used to attempt to establish hegemony over local interactions. It also was clear that it was important for certain participants to establish specific ideological perspectives, and for other participants to come to terms with what might be called this aggressive process of ideological formation. These perspectives had to do with defining children in certain ways, with conducting assessments and writing IEPs, with delimiting the general purposes of schooling as well as the specific purposes of

classroom activity, with defining deafness as a particular kind of disability and "handicap," and a host of other issues which impinged on socialization processes in classroom, school and home.

In general, school professionals were usually the ones most aggressive in establishing the parameters of social and ideological relations. Indeed, they seemed to believe that was their role as professionals, and would not hesitate, if they thought the child's educational "development" called for it, to suggest ways the parents might alter the home environment, including how to communicate with and discipline their deaf child. The Hispanic parents, on the other hand, usually found themselves in a rather defensive position with respect to this "assault," which was generally presented as either "the way things are done," or "in the best interests of the child."

Given such general observations early on in our fieldwork, we found we had to be concerned with the question of who controlled the discourse at any given moment in time. But to understand this, we also found we had to trace the history of relations between parents, children and school, rather than merely describe the structures of the communicative events in which they participated. We especially had to try to get a grip on what particular understandings about key issues were made to prevail, <u>in practice</u>, over time, whether or not particular participants gave credence to those views, and whether or not they themselves saw them as "key" (though of course we always tried to take into account their views of this).

Practices of Noninvolvement

In a general sense, school staff engaged in a number of practices which tended to position parents in a stance of noninvolvement. These could include such practices as redefining issues of large concern into issues of smaller moment; adopting a paternalistic attitude toward parents; localizing problems within individuals, particularly the children, rather than defining them as an interaction between the child's context and the child; actively maintaining a nonsharing of information; limiting the areas of concern that parents could "legitimately" have a voice in; assuming the prerogatives of allocating times, places, participants, formats and agendas for meetings between parents and staff; drawing on "expertise" and professional authority to determine the focus of concern in any given interaction; and isolating categories (including both concepts and social roles) from each other and from their contexts and thus obscuring relationships between them.

Parents' responses to this panoply of "noninvolvement strategies" were not as diverse, though there was some variation between the parents in the strategies they drew on to make their voices heard in given situations. What variation there was in their responses correlated to some extent with what are usually thought of as social class, ethnic, cultural, gender and communicative characteristics of social groups. But these correlations remain problematic in a number of ways. The relationships between these "characteristics" are rather complicated and messy, and as a result the categories tend to

break down when looking at specific concrete instances. In that sense they are somewhat reductive. More important, what correlations can be established between them do not of themselves explain the social outcome of "noninvolvement." We deliberately tried to avoid abstracting from our data to make it fit the kind of operationally-defined categories that are required by a correlational approach, whether as applied by survey researchers or by sociolinguists of discourse. It was the interaction of such abstractions in concrete situations that most concerned us, since we wanted a close-up of the social, cultural and communicative processes that produced such outcomes as parental noninvolvement in decision making.

Participant Struggles (in particular)

A Particular Case: 'Carlos Soto' and His Mother

With this in mind, I will discuss certain interactions involving one of our case study children, 'Carlos Soto,' his mother, and school staff at Concordia. The discussion is divided into four parts, concentrating first on describing the Soto family background and home environment; then turning to a description of Carlos' behavior in the classroom, to be followed by a discussion of different participants' perspectives on this behavior, and concluding with a description of the interaction between Mrs. Soto and Concordia staff regarding the way Carlos' behavior was depicted in the Phase-2 IEP.

(1) Family Background and Home Environment

Mrs. Soto brought Carlos to New York in October of 1983 specifically to enroll him in the infant center program at Concordia, a program she had heard about through her many inquiries in the Dominican Republic. Although a citizen of the Dominican Republic, she herself had lived in the United States before when she was still married to Carlos' father. The family had lived for part of the time in Florida where Mrs. Soto had attended college for two years. Carlos was born there and is a U.S. citizen. When divorce proceedings began, Mrs. Soto returned to the D.R. with Carlos to reside with her parents.

Mrs. Soto's parents were, in the Dominican context at least, fairly wealthy. They lived in a large house in a suburban setting near the capital city. Mrs. Soto's father was retired from the Dominican foreign service. Mrs. Soto had travelled widely as a child growing up in this family, and had lived in various parts of Europe and the Middle East.

Mrs. Soto investigated schools for the deaf in the Dominican Republic. She was quite determined that Carlos should learn to speak and therefore wanted an oral program. As in the rest of Latin America, oral programs for the deaf predominate in the Dominican Republic, although the first school for the deaf was apparently founded only in 1956. However, according to her own account, Mrs. Soto felt that "most of the kids in the school there were rural kids." They were, in her view "a different kind of people" than those Carlos was used to. She didn't want him mixing with them.

She began looking for an oral program for Carlos in the U.S. There are, of course, relatively few of these left at present, after the massive change in the 1970s throughout the country's schools for the deaf to "Total Communication" programs. Mrs. Soto, however, was adamant about providing an oral program for Carlos. We observed her asking Concordia teachers and supervisors several times about whether sign was used in any of the classrooms. She never wavered in this view, even when, after certain conflicts with Concordia, she began looking for other programs. Her main alternative was a program in a school in Massachusetts, and at one point she was prepared to move there for Carlos' sake.

Nevertheless, when Mrs. Soto came to New York with Carlos to set up a home so he could attend Concordia's programs, she had few contacts and resources to help her. She has an aunt who lives in New Jersey, and her aunt's husband helped her find an apartment. It may in fact have been his own apartment that he had vacated earlier. The apartment was in the same Washington Heights neighborhood as Benito's. In fact, the two families lived within five blocks of each other, though, before Benito began coming to school, they did not know each other.

Washington Heights, which runs along Manhattan's upper West Side from about 150th St. to 210th St., is primarily a Dominican community, with a smaller proportion of Blacks and whites. There are about 80,000 Dominicans living in the Washington Heights area, most of whom are relatively recent immigrants, having arrived here from the Dominican Republic after the U.S. Marine

occupation in 1965. Many of these speak little or no English and have very little formal schooling. There is probably also a large population of undocumented immigrants, but their precise numbers are difficult to determine.

Main thoroughfares cut through the local area, including Broadway a block to the west, and Amsterdam Avenue two blocks to the east. There are many older buildings, remnants of late 19th century development, in the area. Many of these have been wholly or partially abandoned and/or burned out. One building on Amsterdam Avenue, about three blocks from the Soto apartment, collapsed about two years ago while tenants still occupied it. In the immediate neighborhood there are many Dominican cafes, bodegas, dance clubs and social clubs.

Several nearby streets are being dug up by city road crews, magnifying the noise of the dense traffic along the main thoroughfares. There is a plentiful and active social life carried on in the streets among the Dominican and other Spanish-speaking residents of the community. In general people are friendly and open to interaction with strangers, especially if they are also Spanish-speaking, and/or if they are seen regularly in the community. Small groups of people can be seen gathered at various places in the neighborhood-- streetcorners, doorways of buildings, bodegas and social clubs--at almost any time of the day, even late into the night in warm weather.

Thus there is an active, readily available social life to be found in the community, counteracting to some extent the influences of petty crime, break-ins, and drug peddling- -all of

which are also fairly prevalent in the area. Residents note that the proximity of the George Washington Bridge contributes to the drug traffic, and therefore the related crimes which always seem to be associated with such traffic.

Unlike another of our case study families who lived in the same area (Benito's family), Mrs. Soto had virtually no contacts with the neighborhood social networks, nor did she have any desire to mix with "these people around here." Her only ventures outside were for the purposes of getting from one point to another, to go shopping, take Carlos to the school bus stop. She eventually met another Hispanic mother at the bus stop who also had a deaf child (a young girl) at Concordia, and who happened to be in the classroom Carlos eventually entered. Interaction between the two mothers never seemed, in our observations of the two at Concordia, to become more than casual and cordial, although after awhile Mrs. Soto would allow the other mother's daughter to visit Carlos in her home.

Again, unlike Benito's home, Carlos' home was well-stocked with toys and children's books, all of which clearly were heavily used. Carlos pulled out many toys and books, and got Carmiña Vila to read through some of his books with him. Many of the toys were "educational" in that they were clearly chosen by the mother for helping Carlos distinguish various sounds; several, in fact, were marketed under the Playskool brand. These included a variety of toy musical instruments and noise- making toys. There was also a toy typewriter and other toys which involved the use of letters or words to give Carlos some "prereading" experience

in the home. At the same time, Carlos had little opportunity to interact with other children. He had no siblings or nearby cousins, and Mrs. Soto would not take him outside to play with neighborhood children. His most intense, and practically his only relationship outside the school, was that with his mother.

Mrs. Soto was relatively fluent as well as literate in English, though her English phonology was heavily influenced by Spanish and it was not always easy for American monolingual English speakers to understand certain words. Mrs. Soto spent many hours in the Concordia library, which is quite well-stocked with both popular and scholarly books on deafness, language and education. She read extensively on a variety of issues related to deafness, including the physiology of different forms of deafness; arguments for and against oral programs; discussions of bilingual education; descriptions of various programs for the deaf, speech training, etc. She was easily the most well informed of our case study parents about these issues. We even suggested at one point that, because of her knowledge of these issues, her experience of both the infant center and preschool at Concordia, and her obvious communicative competencies, she could become an effective advocate for other Hispanic parents new to the school, helping them to become oriented to what she herself recognized as a very complicated and large institution. However, she showed little interest in doing this. She expressed at one point her desire not to get involved in anything that the school staff would consider "causing problems." At any rate, she associated little with other Hispanic parents at the school. For

example, she did attend functions sponsored by the school for Hispanic parents (such as a pot-luck party during Hispanic Heritage week), but she generally came late, talked mainly to teachers and school staff, and left early.

Mrs. Soto shared the view fostered in Concordia's preschool that children should not be taught directly by adults all the time, but that an adult could help the child learn by introducing pieces of knowledge into natural, everyday activities. This was the philosophy she expressed to us in describing how she had been trying to help Carlos learn Spanish and English. At the same time, we observed that--when she controlled the interaction at least--she often tried a more direct teaching method. This included modelling words or sounds for Carlos and getting him to touch her throat or lips while she produced the sound. It also included repeating particular words several times when she was introducing them to Carlos.

In addition, we observed her, both at home and on a videotape we made of her interacting with Carlos at the school, "testing" Carlos' knowledge by asking him to identify or count objects, name colors, etc. For example, we videotaped her and Carlos through a one-way mirror in a specially equipped room in the school. The room contained a chest of drawers full of toys and books suitable for preschool-age children, a small table and chairs, a couch, a small rocking horse. We asked Mrs. Soto simply to play with Carlos as she normally would at home, to perhaps play a game of their choosing, or with toys available in the room, or perhaps to go through one of the story books in the

room. We told her we were hoping to get a sample of their interaction that was more or less typical of their interaction at home. What we got was a "demonstration lesson," in which Mrs. Soto tried to maintain strict control of the situation, defining activities, directing talk, correcting Carlos' errors, etc. The following brief segment from this tape was characteristic of the whole half hour session:(2)

[TRANSCRIPTION: Tape MC-C1, 009-167]

C = Carlos M = Mrs. Soto

[M adjusts C's hearing aids and his clothes; C says "Escuela," (School), M replies, "Claro eso es la escuela" (Right, this is the school"). Then they approach the table, and sit down, with M asking C what he wants to do]:

1. M: Qué tu quieres a hacer?
2. C: ( )
3. M: Eh? [both sit at table]
4. C: No sé.
5. M: [picking up one of the bright colored plastic cubes on the table]: Cuantos hay aquí, a ver. . . Cuantos cubitos hay?. . . Cuantos hay? Cuenta. . . U::no.
6. C: Uno
7. M: A ver
8. C: (daa::) [C gets up, goes to rocking horse].

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2. Appendix A provides transcription symbols; Appendix B provides an English translation.

2.

9. M: A contar. . . u::no. . . Esa no cabe, mi amor [C is trying to fit a plastic block onto the end of the rocking horse's rocker]. . Eso no cabe ahí, papi. . . Eso es otra cosa, eso es otra cosa. Ven, damelo cubito. . .Ven, enseñarte. . .okay . . . una buena idea, okay. Oh, ay, mira! Cuantos hay, a ver. [M gets up from table and squats down beside C who is now riding rocking horse.] Espera, cuantos hay, vamos. U:no D:os tre:s quatro cubitos. Cuantos hay? A ver. cuenta.

10. C: Uno . dos . . . nueve

11. M: No, {nueve?} No

12. C: { Uno } . . . (tres). . cuatro.

13. M: Cuatro {cubitos}

14. C: { ah }

15. M: Y de que color es ese cubito, qué {color}?

16. C: { dos }

17. M: Qué color?

18. C: (tres)

19. M: Qué co:lor es ese?

20. C: (ye::)

21. M: [M kneels directly in front of C, who is now standing in front of her next to the horse. She puts her face close to his, establishes direct eye contact, and points her finger at his face.] Oye. .qué color?

22. C: (e e o o)

23. M: Qué color es ese?

24. C: (da au chu)

25. M: Qué color es ese?

26. C: (e e ov el)

27. M: Espérate, niño. [M starts to check C's aids.]

[End transcribed segment, Tape MC-C1]

It can be noted that we observed Mrs. Soto constructing similar interactions with Carlos at home. We also found similar patterns of interaction on an audiotape which she made of herself and Carlos at home, at our request. These patterns were in considerable contrast to those of another mother and child we videotaped in a similar situation (Flor and her mother). The most striking contrast was in who controlled the discourse at any given moment. Flor's mother, Mrs. Valles, allowed her child to choose and direct activities, made no attempts at direct teaching, and did not fall into the "teacher question-child response-teacher evaluation" pattern that researchers have found to be so common in classrooms (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Mehan 1979).

We are not suggesting that this pattern was the only form of interaction Mrs. Soto engaged in with her son. Our concern is not with measuring the "typicality" of this pattern in the total set of interactions between mother and child, though as we have noted, within the context of our own data, it is the most common pattern. Rather, we would emphasize the connection between ideological and social relations evidenced in interactions of this type, and the relationship between those relations and the ideological and social patterns stressed in the culture of schooling (as interpreted by Mrs. Soto).

Mrs. Soto had very high expectations for Carlos' academic and social development. She hoped he would eventually learn to speak English fluently and like a hearing person, and learn

lipreading so he could interact with hearing people. She also hoped he would go to a four-year college and eventually take up a profession, such as engineering. And she also wanted him to learn to speak Spanish as well so he could function well in the Dominican context. We believe these expectations led her to a "compensatory" approach to Carlos' deafness. She felt that she had to do everything possible to help Carlos "overcome" his "deficit" in the sense of keeping up with, or surpassing, children with normal hearing. Unlike either Mrs. Valles or Benito's parents, she felt the need to stress school-based knowledge in Carlos' upbringing, and to do this in the most direct way possible. Her emphasis on oral training could be considered part of this compensatory approach.

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Soto's approach resembles that of another of our case study families, that of Ana Colon. Ana's mother had been trained as a primary school teacher in Puerto Rico, and had in fact taught there. Her husband was a semi-skilled worker in the hotel industry, and, at least while in New York, they lived very much as a closely-knit nuclear family unit. She had been told by staff at an agency for deaf services in New York (prior to coming to Concordia) that she should speak only English to Ana, as it would be difficult for her to learn both Spanish and English at the same time. However, Ana's mother spoke English with considerable difficulty (though Ana's father was fluent in both English and Spanish). Nevertheless, she spoke only English to Ana, while using Spanish with her husband and Ana's younger sister. Like Carlos' mother, she attempted to

teach Ana school-based knowledge in a direct fashion using the same elicitation-response-evaluation pattern, and controlling the discourse, she showed us in her home how she was teaching Ana both the alphabet and numbers to 100 by displaying these on large charts she had made herself, and directing Ana to recite them.

Though by most measures Ana Colon's family and Carlos Soto's family were very different in terms of class and social status, the mothers shared similar attitudes toward schooling and deafness. Mrs. Soto, we believe, was particularly concerned that Carlos maintain his position as a member of the elite class in the Dominican Republic (she hoped eventually to return there with Carlos). Mrs. Colon had no such status, yet the family appeared to aspire to middle class status in the U.S. context. The ideology and expectations were thus quite similar, and the nature of the social relations the two mothers attempted to establish with their deaf children--particularly in their emphasis on controlling the discourse for purposes of "compensating" for the child's deafness; i.e., in order to instil in their children what they interpreted as school-based knowledge.

2. Carlos in the Classroom

Carlos had been in the classroom on a regular, everyday basis for about three weeks, when it finally came time for him to begin riding the school bus to and from school. Up to that point his mother had brought him by subway and bus, an arduous journey of about one and a half hours. On the following afternoon he would ride the bus home for the first time. He was well aware that this was approaching, and the teachers and his mother agreed

that he was very anxious about it. On this day, the teachers had carefully planned special activities to help him deal with this anxiety. The rest of the story can be told through excerpts from our field notes:

[Excerpt from field notes, CO-C, 3/18/85]

> Carlos comes into the classroom about an hour late, because he and his mother had been in a session with a therapeutic "counselor," to whom they had been referred by the preschool supervisor. The other children--four of them--are just finishing their morning snack. Carlos flits rapidly around the room, moving from one point to another without stopping for long in any one place. He runs over to the wooden climber (Fig. 4) and shakes it so hard it bounces up and down off the floor. Then he gets up on it and lies down on the platform, then jumps down, flits into the bathroom and throws something into the toilet bowl and flushes it. Jason and Nathan, two Black boys, leave the "snack table" at the other end of the room and follow Carlos, watching him closely. Meanwhile the two teachers begin rounding up the children and gathering them into a semicircle over near the chalkboard.

[End first excerpt from field notes CO-C]

[place figure 4 about here]

The classroom area just mentioned is used by the teachers to give more or less formal lessons. They are formal in at least two senses. One is that they have a predictable routine and structure, even to the positioning of the teacher in front of the group with her back to the chalkboard. Another is that activities in this area are always directed by the teacher. The teacher may tell a story from a book, show a series of slides, or direct a game of some sort. She will attempt to direct turntaking, will provide most of the talk, and will ask questions

of the children and evaluate their answers. This particular activity is meant largely for Carlos' benefit. They will tell a story from a picture book about a school bus.

[Second excerpt, Field Notes CO-C, 3/18/85]

> The teachers can't get Carlos to join the circle. They have the children leave a large space for him right in the center (Fig. 5). But Carlos goes over to an adjacent area, the area of blocks which is separated off by a row of low shelves from the reading area. He lies down on one of the shelves, then gets up, then moves towards Eileen the head teacher, but always keeping the row of shelves between himself and the reading area. Figure 5 plots some of his movements during this time.

[place figure 5 about here]

> Eileen plays a little game to entice Carlos to join them. She shakes the hand of each child seated in the circle, and then offers to shake Carlos' hand. He reaches tentatively out for her hand, but she tells him, drawing her hand back slightly, "First you have to come and sit down. Come and sit down and then I can shake your hand." He turns away, crosses to the other side of the room, goes back to the block area and again lies down on the shelf. Sally, the instructional assistant, suggests they ignore him for the moment and just start reading the book, and maybe he will join them on his own. Eileen starts by showing the rest of the children the cover of the book, which pictures a cluster of yellow school buses. She then starts explaining what the book is about.
>
> Carlos then comes over, but instead of sitting down, he goes over to Bhinta, a girl born in India, and gives her a very hard hug and kisses her on the cheek. This is quite an aggressive act, and Bhinta tries to squirm away from him. He does the same to Anita, a Black girl, who is sitting in Sally's lap. He also tries to do the same with Jason, who is sitting on the other side of Sally, but Sally prevents him by blocking him with her arm. He sits down, but not in the open space they have left for him, but leaning up against Sally.

Eileen starts telling the story, showing the children the first page of the book, then stops and says, "Oh, I forgot to shake hands with Carlos. Carlos, do you want to shake hands?" But now he is unwilling. Eileen mentions to Sally that maybe it is because she didn't do it as soon as he sat down. Carlos seems more interested in poking Jason, who is sitting on the other side of Sally, and who responds by trying to hit back, though Sally prevents it. There is a bit of a struggle between Carlos and Jason for a few moments, as each pushes the other while trying to block his opponents shoves at the same time. Eileen goes on showing the children the pages of the book and telling them the story. At this point she is showing the page where the childen in the story are getting on the bus and saying goodbye to their mothers. Eileen says, "All the children are getting on the bus. They're saying goodbye. They're waving and saying, Bye bye." Eileen waves her hand too, and several of the children in the circle also say "Bye Bye" and wave their hands. Carlos, although he is looking down and away from Eileen, also says "Bye bye" and waves.

Carlos follows the story for a moment, then he suddenly gets up and leaves the circle, giving Nathan a hard shove as he does so. He crosses the room, pulls a book from a shelf, tosses it on the floor, goes back to the block area, lies down on the same shelf for a few seconds, then gets up and returns to his position in the circle again, sitting close to Sally. He leans over and puts his arms around Anita, who is still sitting in Sally's lap, as if to hug her, but bites her on the face instead, which immediately sends Anita into tears. Then he kicks Nathan, crawls around behind Sally and kicks Jason, who gets very stirred up by this. Jason gets up and starts hitting out at Carlos, who is now crawling rapidly past Jason, ignoring his blows. A moment later Carlos is on his feet, pointing at the bus book, then going back to the climber and shaking it hard, then going over to the windows and banging hard on the metal radiator covers, pulling toys off the shelves and throwing them on the floor, and knocking one of the small room dividers down.

A few moments later, as the teachers are getting the children ready to go outside, he comes over to Anita again and pushes her down hard, walks away when the teachers warn him, "No," then comes back and hits her on the shoulder. Then he goes over to Nathan and hits him on the arm, and Nathan immediately hits him back. Then he gets into a struggle with Jason over the light switch by the door to the hallway, as both want to be the one to turn it out before they leave the room. (Note: the light switches are highly valued symbolic objects, as only the teachers have the right to turn the lights on or off, and only they can allocate that right to one of the chlidren.) The boys push and shove each other, with first one, then the other positioning himself under the switch with his hand covering it, but only

momentarily, for the other soon pushes him away. But Carlos soon turns away from this game to find other mischief, including taking someone's woolen hat and throwing it in the toilet. Just as he turns the handle to flush it, Eileen grabs the hat out of the water. She then takes him to one side, squats down beside him, and rubs his chest, saying, "Now, now let's calm down, calm down." He stands in front of her with a sad, or perhaps worried, expression on his face, and says, "Mami." "I know," Eileen answers. "You miss Mommy, I know." Then he goes over to a toy phone, picks it up and pretends to dial, saying "Mami."

[End second excerpt from Field Notes, CO-C, 3/18/85]

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3. Evaluations of Carlos: Perspectives on Identity

In this section we will compare various perspectives on Carlos' behavior and identity: those of the two teachers, Eileen the head teacher, and Sally the instructional assistant; Carlos' mother; and the mother of one of the other children in the classroom who sometimes fell victim to Carlos' aggression. I will also throw in my own two cents' worth of guesswork. The important thing to note about these different perspectives is the relationship between Carlos and his context, between his behavior and his social environment, as interpreted by different persons around him. Different views of this relationship resulted in different views of Carlos' identity and of the sources of his "inappropriate" behavior in the classroom. These different views became the focus of contention between school staff and Mrs. Soto in discussions over a description of that behavior written into his Phase-2 IEP. The ways these different perspectives were presented and negotiated in those encountners, which we discuss in the next section, reveal much about how conflicts were resolved in the school setting, and how certain boundaries were

drawn around participation, constraining thereby the relationships between Hispanic parents and the school.

The behavior Carlos displays in the previous description, which covered some 20 minutes of classroom time, was fairly typical of his response to the classroom environment during his first two months there. He did not always act like this. Sometimes he was calmer and more cooperative, more compliant with teachers' direction, more willing to fall in with classroom routine and participate in classroom activities.

One thing everyone agreed on--including the researchers--was that Carlos' behavior was problematic in the context of the classroom, and that it would have to change. What made it particularly problematic and difficult to understand was that it did not seem to conform to expectations any of the adults had about how a child might be expected to behave in this environment. It was not perceived as unusual to find aggression among young children in classroom, and other situations. There were, for example, two Black boys in this classroom who enacted together scenarios of aggression which ranged from mimicking karate fights seen on television or in films to more or less trying to injure each other. There often seemed to be an ambiguity in their aggression toward each other, for it could move quickly from play to serious and back to play, and it seemed as if much of their encounters together involved a kind of testing of each other's confrontational skills. They did not express this aggression toward the three girls in the classroom, two of whom were quite passive through much of the period of

Carlos' initiation into the classroom social world. However, there were a number of instances in which the three boys, Carlos included, got into pushing or hitting as described above.

But to return to Carlos, what was puzzling about his aggression is that it was only rarely directed at the two boys, Jason and Nathan. It was more common for Carlos to focus his aggression on one of the three girls in the classroom, but particularly on either Bhinta--the Indian girl--or Anita--a Black girl, and somewhat less frequently on Carlota, a Hispanic girl. None of these girls ever initiated aggressive acts towards Carlos, and they rarely offered to hit back if he hit out at them, though towards the end of her own initial 30 days in the classroom, Anita did begin hitting back.

What was even more puzzling, was that Carlos' attacks on these girls seemed, as both teachers often put it, to come from "out of the blue." For example, one day the children were seated around the round snack table with the two teachers eating their lunch. Without any prior warning that any of the adults could discern--i.e., no prior confrontation, or even prior interaction--Carlos suddenly picked up his plastic milk cup and dumped the milk on Bhinta's head. Another "out of the blue" instance occurred a few days later. The teachers were busy getting the children's coats on to go out to the playground. Carlota's parents came to the door and began talking with Eileen. I was seated at the other end of the room, observing. My attention was momentarily distracted toward the conversation between Carlota's parents and Eileen, when out of the corner of my eye I noticed

Carlos approaching Anita who was playing with some blocks down near my end of the room where I was sitting. A second later I saw a sudden movement from Carlos and turned just in time to see him hit Anita on the head with a wooden block about 8" X 4" X 2." This was no love tap. He used considerable force, and Anita immediately began screaming and crying. Anita had really no other direct interactions with Carlos, except at such moments.

The puzzling aspects of these sudden "outbursts" brought out a host of interpretive theories from all the adult participants involved with Carlos. Everyone recognized that none of these theories was wholly satisfactory. They realized that any explanation they could come up with left certain behaviors unaccounted for. However, they did not all recognize the same data as what had still been unaccounted for.

The two teachers, Eileen and Sally, emphasized a psychological perspective. They explained Carlos' aggression as an "expression" of anger which at times he simply could not control. It was as if the anger would "boil up" inside him and he would then strike out at those nearest and, as it happened, most defenseless. They believed the anger was a response to the "separation problem" which, in their view--as well as in the view of most of the preschool teachers and staff--was something all very young children have to deal with when they first come to school, and which tends to involve a certain amount of anxiety.

Of course not all children responded to this anxiety with anger, but there was a special aspect of Carlos' history which suggested a source for his anger. The source of information

about this aspect was Carlos' mother herself. She had told various school staff a story about her and Carlos that became widely known by most of those staff who had had direct dealings with Carlos.

The story was that, during the summer of 1984, after Carlos had attended the infant center program at Concordia, and before he returned to be transferred into the preschool, she had taken him to visit her parents in the Dominican Republic. While there, he attended some sort of summer school program for deaf children, riding to and from the program on the school bus without being accompanied by an adult. He would have been two and a half at this time. Towards the end of the summer, Mrs. Soto knew she wanted Carlos to continue at Concordia. During this time she was also going through the process of a divorce and had no residence of her own in New York, though she had an aunt living in New Jersey. One day she took the plane to New York to begin looking for an apartment. Carlos was asleep in his grandparents' home when she left. According to what her parents told her, when Carlos woke up he was very upset. He cried for a long time and could not sleep well for several nights. She was gone for about two and a half weeks.

Eileen and Sally believed that Carlos remembered this earlier separation when his mother started gradually leaving him, according to plan, for longer and longer periods of time in the classroom. They believed he had been angry with her after the original separation, and his anger now, in the classroom, was something like a reenactment for him of the original trauma.

Why he would "express" his anger by taking it out on other children in the classroom was a bit more difficult to explain. Sally was perhaps more invested than Eileen in clinical psychological explanations (in fact she was in a way very perceptive and ingenious in this mode of interpretation). Sally particularly emphasized the notion of a strong feeling--anger--welling up and bursting out at unpredictable times. In fact, this model explains the seemingly aberrant, unpredictable nature of Carlos' "outbursts." That is, he was not so much responding to the classroom environment or anything in particular going on there, as he was to the "turmoil" going on "inside."

The hoped-for remedies for Carlos' anger and "uncontrolled aggression," as dictated by the psychological perspective involved several strategies. First, the teachers hoped that Carlos would eventually recognize that whenever his mother did leave the classroom she would also return. Similarly, once he got used to riding the bus he would recognize that he would soon see her again. Second, the preschool supervisor referred the mother and Carlos to a "counselor" (when I called this person a "therapist," the supervisor corrected me, saying, "No, not a therapist, a counselor.") We were not admitted into these sessions, but Carlos and his mother attended them at least once a week for about an hour at a time and for several weeks. Apparently one of the techniques used was "fantasy play," in which Carlos was encouraged to "take out" his aggression on pillows or soft dolls by hitting or kicking them. Eileen tried sometimes to extend this model into the classroom, demonstrating

for Carlos when he had been particularly expressive of his "anger" what he should do; i.e., stamp on the floor, or bang his hands on a table.

Another remedy, pursued by both teachers, but especially by Sally, who most often took on a nurturing role in this classroom, was to hug Carlos, rub his chest, and speak calmly to him (as Eileen can be seen doing in the example given in the previous section). Other remedies were suggested, as we shall see.

Mrs. Soto's view of why Carlos was aggressive in the classroom was quite different from that of the teachers and supervisor, although she would acknowledge to them that, yes, perhaps Carlos had a problem separating from her. However, in discussions with us, as well as with the teachers, Mrs. Soto indicated she felt there was something about the classroom environment itself that was the real source of Carlos' problem. She told us, "He never acted that way before until he came into that classroom. He never bothered other children or hit them like that. But there's a lot of fighting going on in there, and that's what got him started." A mother of one of the girls in the classroom concurred with this view. She said that her daughter had begun fighting and hitting her brothers at home, after being in this classroom for a couple of weeks, and that she never did that before. Both mothers felt that the classroom was disorganized, that the kids weren't given enough opportunities to engage in constructive play and learning activities, that they needed more "structure."

The teachers had two answers for this, one deriving from the recent history of the classroom itself, one from a particular pedagogy, i.e., an ideology. The classroom had had a recent history of being continually disrupted by the introduction of new children at intermittent times throughout the fall term. They started with three kids, then gradually grew to four, five, and finally eight children. Also one of the children left about the time Carlos' IEP was being written. This meant that it was very difficult to establish routines, which they felt were particularly important in this setting, not only because the children were young, but because they were deaf.

The pedagogical view that accounted for the so-called lack of structure in this classroom was, as Jane, the preschool supervisor, expressed it in the second parent-teacher conference with Mrs. Soto over the Phase-2 IEP, "he really has a variety here of structured and unstructured activities. There's let's say for example, story time, snack time, lunch time. . . routines." The point was that young children need both some times and places for free expression and other times and places for teacher-directed "structured" activities where it is imperative, as Susan said, for the child to "internalize the rules" of participation.

This issue of classroom structure came up in the two parent-teacher conferences regarding Carlos' Phase-2 IEP, which is discussed in the next section. Before turning to those meetings, however, I want to mention one other staff member's views of

Carlos, and make one or two points about the variation in perspectives between staff and parents.

The other staff member was part of the special team of resource teachers whose job it was to assist teachers and parents of the Hispanic children in the school. The clientele of Concordia had once been largely white middle class. According to some adult members of the New York deaf community I have talked with, Concordia was considered an elite school among the deaf--only the very best and brightest went there, according to this view, and usually their parents had money. But with changes in special education policy over the last fifteen years, particularly the emphasis on "mainstreaming," or placing special ed students in the "least restrictive environment," (PL-94-142), the clientele at Concordia had shifted. At the time of our research, slightly over 50% of the student body consisted of minorities, either Black or Hispanic, with Hispanics making up about 32% of the student body (out of about 447 students). Most of the families of these children were, not surprisingly, working class and/or rather poor. A number of developments in research and programming at Concordia had taken place during these years of change in order to find ways to accommodate to these students. One of the most innovative was to institute a "Hispanic Assistance Team" to serve Hispanic children and parents. This is quite rare, though now not unique, in schools for the deaf around the country, where the needs of minority groups have been largely neglected. Concordia rightly considered itself in the vanguard in this field. However, New York State provided only enough

funds for two and a half persons to act as resource specialists on the Hispanic Team, hardly adequate to serve the needs of Hispanic children ranging in age from birth to 21 years old!

Blanca, the Hispanic team member who worked with the infant center and preschool children, told us that in fact Carlos had been quite aggressive, particularly toward his mother, when they came to the infant center program the year before. We could concur in this observation, insofar as we had seen Carlos hitting his mother on the shoulder, with some force, one of the times we visited their home. Blanca felt that there were a couple of reasons for his "aggression," one of which was his anger at being "abandoned" the time she came to New York to look for an apartment, but the other of which involved the "looseness of structure in the classroom."

I want to note a couple of things about these various perspectives. First, the energy and attention devoted to developing these interpretations and spelling them out indicate the seriousness of the problem for the school. Some staff pointed out that, if Carlos continued to behave violently, he would have to be referred to a "special unit" in the school for children who were emotionally disturbed. There he would be exposed to a rather different program centered on the use of Total Communication, but combined with a behavior modification approach designed to inculcate appropriate school and personal behavior. Mrs. Soto would probably have taken him out of the school, had such a recommendation been made, and moved to

Massachusetts where she could enroll him in an oral program there.

One of the reasons Carlos' behavior was so problematic, I believe, had more to do with his general willingness to cross certain boundaries of event structure and interpersonal behavior. The violence that could accompany this crossing of boundaries was, in a sense, incidental to the boundary breaking itself. That is, it exacerbated to a high degree what would have been a major problem in and of itself. For example, another of our case study children, 'Elena,' who was in another class, also presented such a problem of crossing boundaries. But she was not violent. Rather, she would disturb classroom routine and planned activities by, for example, singing and vocalizing loudly during a group activity of reading. This made it very difficult for teachers to organize group activities and provide the children with a structured learning environment. For this, and other reasons, she was transferred to the special education program (this case is somewhat more complicated than this; we discuss it in Bennett 1987).

A final point I wish to make is that, in looking over our field notes, there does in fact seem to be sometimes a "reason" for Carlos' aggressive and other inappropriate behavior. For example, in the scene mentioned above where he poured milk on Bhinta's head, this was not his first aggressive act of that morning, and, moreover, each inappropriate act occurred after Eileen had corrected or reprimanded him.

It is not my purpose to claim that Carlos' behavior can be explained by seeing it as a response to Eileen's admonitions. It is in my view somewhat more complicated. Surely not all the children respond in the same way to similar direction from the teachers, nor were Eileen's admonitions delivered with any particularly strong expression of feeling, certainly not an oppressive anger or condescending sarcasm, which some of the teachers in other classrooms could be seen using with children. More likely, Carlos had built up a pattern of response in interactions with his mother, who, it may be, kept some pressure on him to perform and to "succeed" in life and in school, as indicated by the transcript excerpted earlier. Also, the family was relatively isolated. Carlos had, at the time, no other children to play with in the neighborhood, as Mrs. Soto did not want him playing with "those kids." However, I offer these remarks, not as alternative or better interpretations than those of the teachers and parents, but only to note that there are particular implications for our views of the relationship between a child's "identity" and his social context.

All the views expressed above take the view that Carlos' behavior would find its explanation in its relationship to his context. The differences occurred in what that context was taken to be. The teachers emphasized his personal relationship with his mother, and gave little attention to the social context of the classroom, though they did note that Carlos tended to pick on passive girls more than on the assertive Black boys in the classroom. The parents focussed instead on the classroom

environment, noting the need to change the structure of activities in there, insisting that their children were learning how to be aggressive and bringing that aggression home.

The view I have just offered suggests that the contexts for interpreting Carlos' behavior should be taken to include both classroom and home, and should be analyzed as pieces of a "larger" social structure, including in particular the class relations adhered to by Mrs. Soto, resulting in a certain isolation of herself and Carlos within a very active community, and the school's ties to certain "middle class" assumptions about "structure" and "appropriate" behavior, as well as about what children need to be learning in preschool--i.e., that they are to be prepared for the future grades, where they will need discipline, and will also be expected to learn certain "skills," e.g., math, reading and writing. It is very difficult to teach these skills to deaf children, and current pedagogical methods require, generally, considerable compliance to teacher direction on the part of the children. Those children who cannot learn such compliance are highly likely to fall behind, and even to be tracked out of "regular" programming into programs for the disturbed or learning disabled.

4. The Parent/Teacher Phase-2 IEP Conferences

Generally, once teachers have written the Phase-2 IEP, based on both structured and informal observations of the child during his/her first 30 classroom days, they meet with parents to "discuss" it, and the parent signs it, after which it becomes a part of the child's official school record, as well as a guide to

the child's educational program that can be consulted in the future by the same or other teachers, as well as supervisors and parents.

The IEP is something like a contract, in that the school sets certain short-term objectives and longterm goals for the child, and in a sense promises to at least try to achieve these. These goals may be quite specific, and in fact the State Education Department--which oversees "private" special ed schools in New York State--was putting increasing emphasis on quantification of goals and objectives. Thus, one might find in a preschooler's IEP the objective that he will learn to count to twenty without mistakes on demand at least three consecutive times, or that she will learn to write correctly her own and all the other children's names. Or, as was recommended as one of Carlos' short-term instructional objectives regarding the page "Controlling One's Own Behavior," that he "will wait his turn during group activities 80% of the time." All the teachers we talked with in the preschool, which was the vast majority of them, felt this quantification was rather absurd, and there was considerable criticism of the State Education Department's interpretation of the law from all levels of staff at Concordia.

At Concordia, the Phase-2 IEP was a rather lengthy document, at least in the preschool. It was divided into several pages, the first few giving information such as date of birth, date of entrance into the program, etc., with most of the succeeding pages being devoted to particular aspects or categories of the child's performance, assessment and programming. These

categories are interesting in themselves, but cannot be discussed here. They include the following (v. Fig. 6):

1. Pragmatics: use/functions of language; conversation skills.
2. Language: Form, Content, Auditory Development (Receptive Level I).
3. Language: Form, Content, Auditory Development (Expressive Level I).
4. Language: Form, Content, Auditory Development (Receptive Level II).
5. Language: Form, Content, Auditory Development (Expressive Level II).
6. Prereading and Prewriting (Written Language)
7. Math.
8. Controlling One's Own Behavior.
9. Relationship with Others.
10. Task Orientation.
11. Self Help Behaviors.
12. Speech.

Normally, as we noted, parents met once with teachers to discuss the IEP and then signed it. However, this was not the case with Mrs. Soto. There were two meetings, the second one involving somewhat different participants. This happened because after the first meeting, which included Mrs. Soto and the two teachers (and myself as observer), Mrs. Soto called up Eileen that night and told her that she was concerned about the way they had described Carlos' behavior in the classroom, particularly that they had said he was "physically aggressive," and had said they did not know the reason why. This description was written

on the page, "Controlling One's Own Behavior" (v. also Fig. 7):

> Carlos often acts aggressive toward other children and it is difficult to determine the reason for his striking the child. He is physically aggressive towards others when angry and often takes his anger out on inappropriate targets. He will attempt to secure an object that others are using at times forcefully.
>
> He is beginning to learn to wait his turn during group activities. He at times is easily distracted by others during group activities and at times causes the distraction. He is beginning to stand up for himself, bargain to get what he wants and share with others.

After Mrs. Soto's phone call to Eileen, a second conference was quickly scheduled, and the preschool supervisor, as well as Blanca, attended. There had been considerable discussion about the structure of the classroom in the first conference, and Mrs. Soto brought it up again. However, the general trend of the second conference was to move from a discussion of the connection between Carlos' "aggression," and its possible relationship to the classroom, to a discussion of focussing on the wording of the IEP itself.

Jane, the preschool supervisor, opened the interaction with a statement focussing on the wording of the IEP: "Okay, the next thing, uh, was, uh, it's my understanding, is the use of the word aggressive in the IEP." Mrs. Soto replied as follows:

> M: It's not really the use of the word, uh, remember I. .when I called you that I asked if she, you know, in that page where, you know, talk about the controlling his behavior. It's not exactly the aggressive, and. . I mean the word,, because I understand that, you know. I mean I know that he has become a little aggressive, you know, so since that. .what I ask is if she can write, you know, more or less the same thing in different words. Because you know, in my, uh, concept, you know, I think that there should be some explanation, you know, a better understanding of what it means, you know, for aggressive behavior, you know.

Jane asks Mrs. Soto to clarify her point, first by turning to the relevant page of the IEP. As they are all looking for the right page, Blanca says in Spanish to Mrs. Soto, "Si quieres decirlo en espanol, si te sientes mas comodo explicando en espanol . . . ("If you want to say it in Spanish, if you feel more comfortable explaining in Spanish," but Mrs. Soto cuts her off with "Esperate," "Wait." That is, she rejects her assistance, which for some parents comes in the form of interpreting. When they find the right page, Mrs. Soto reads the first sentence and says, "I don't like that part, you know, because. . ." Jane interrupts to say, "Tell me what you, uh, what makes you uncomfortable and how would you, uh rephrase it yourself." Mrs. Soto answers in a complex way, moving through various explanations of Carlos' aggressive behavior, finally arriving at the social environment of the classroom itself ("backchannel listener feedback on Jane's and Eileen's part is provided here in brackets):

M: First of all, here it says, "It is difficult to determine the reason for his striking." We have discussed this before, you know. I told you that I was expecting some aggressive behavior in Carlos because [J: Mhm] of the communication. [J; Mhm] And then, second, uh, not only the communication, [J; Mhm] but also, I mean because of the language, you know, [J: Mhm] different language. [J: Mhm] He is very oral, [J: Mhm] he likes to communicate. [J: Mhm] Not only that, but remember when you told me that the separation you you saw, you know [E: Yes] that there was not only communication, it was something else, and [E: Mhm, and deeper] it was due because of the separation. [J: Mhm] So we are working on that [J: Sure, mhm] and I really could, you know, uh uh, see that it was true, you know. It was not only communication the problem ( ) but also the separation. There is something else that doesn't help Carlos is that the group, I told you also, is a very active group, a very aggressive group. It's not only Carlos, you know what I mean. So, when here it says, it's difficult to determine why he reacts like that, there is some idea of why he is reacting like that, so it can be some explanation why, his reactions, you know what I mean?

Eileen responds to this by pointing out:

> E: we know the background, but usually on an IEP we don't put background. What we see is what we write down, so that it it it [J: the behavior] the behavior is is giving a picture of the behavior.

Eileen goes on to emphasize that Carlos' behavior is not predictable:

> E: all of a sudden he'll act out towards another child, who there was, there was no clue that he was gonna do that. And in the sense of, without sounding harsh, taking care of the other child, you have to have someone alerted to that, because [J: providing for the] providing [J: providing for the well being of the other child].

Mrs. Soto then begins to argue that he is striking other children very often, saying "I don't think it can happen so frequently, I don't think so, maybe once in awhile. At this point she is interrupted by Jane, who says:

> J: Wait a minute. Before you start that, let's just go over again [M: Mhm] what I think the differences are in your understanding in what their understanding and my understanding is of what they mean when they say, uh, to determine the reason for his striking the child it's difficult.

Having made this point, Jane goes on to reinforce the idea that it would not be "appropriate" to put down reasons for Carlos' behavior in the IEP:

> J: So as Eileen said, it would be inappropriate, it would not be correct to put information here regarding his frustration with the language, uh, his problems with separation, or let's say there were two or three other problems that he was dealing with [M: Mhm], which may be, we just don't know what they are yet [M: Mhm], uh that would not be appropriate to put that here.
>
> Blanca then interrupts: "Jane, why?" This prompts Jane into a lengthy explanation that emphasizes that

J: There may be some underlying causes that are internal, but we can't know what they are because they're inside Carlos at this point. On the other hand, if somebody comes over to Carlos and bops Carlos on the arm and he turns around and bops the kid back, yes, then they say, okay, when hit by another child, he hits back, or when his cookie is taken away by another child, he grabs the other child's lunch. When provoked, or when reprimanded by the teacher, uh, for not being cooperative, he goes and hits another child. Where they can see a pattern that this is the cause and this is the effect. What they're saying is that [M: Yeah, I understand sometimes] you can't always see the cause, okay? So there's something, there are other causes for sure, but we cannot see what they are all of the time. Sometimes I guess you can. Uh, but lots of times you can't, and maybe we need to change the language.

At this point it becomes imperative to make a couple of comments on the direction the discourse has taken. For one thing, it has already shifted focus from the move Mrs. Soto made to get the teachers to talk about the structure of the classroom and how it relates to the "underlying" causes of Carlos' behavior (a matter they had in fact discussed at some length in the first IEP meeting), to a focus on what can "appropriately" be put into writing in the IEP itself, and now, finally, to a focus on the wording itself. However, Mrs. Soto hasn't accepted this shift yet:

M: Yeah, I really, because you know, I know that, he has sometimes that reaction, you know, but I know why it comes, you know. First of all, he is, you know, in a different estructure, you know, I mean

J: In a what?

B: Structure

M: He has a structure here, you know, than than at home [J: sure]. I have to be, you know, I have you know, since, you know, I start with the program, dealing with that. I set some routines [J: mhm] you know, and he is, you know, uh, he develops under that, you know, kind of environment [J: Mhm]. Here he has, remember I told you, too much free activities, sometimes he doesn't know what to do [J: Mhm] you know what

I mean, sometimes he is really confused, you know, because he doesn't have, uh, some pattern [J: Mhm], you know what I mean. Then

J: But he really has a variety here of structured and unstructured activities. There's let's say, for example, story time, snack time, lunch time [M: Yeah, well] routines,

M: M: Yeah, that's right but when

J: you know you come in you do this, you do that

M: Free activities comes, you know, sometimes he doesn't know what to do because he is not

J: But this is an area that he needs to to develop

E: That's right. It's social.

J: This is an area that is social where he has to internalize the rules or whatever you wanna call that ( ).

At this point, a brief interchange takes place between Mrs. Soto and Jane, in which Mrs. Soto forwards the idea that there do seem to be discernible reasons for Carlos' behavior. Note that Mrs. Soto is addressing the claim that no such reasons can be put down on the IEP, not really because it is "inappropriate" to do so, but because, as Jane emphasized in her response above to Blanca, they don't know the reasons in this case. Mrs. Soto is trying to establish that in fact they do know the reasons. However, at this point, Blanca interrupts again. Her point is as follows:

B: There's a lot of things that have been analyzed, and she [M: Mhm], that was mentioned a big cultural difference. Which is very true [J: Mhm], I mean, and it's not only with this kid, but is with other kids [J: Mnm] that we Hispanics in our homes are very structured in everything, and he also had experience in Santo Domingo in a very structured situation [J: Mhm]. I agree with you, he has to work on those things because he has to learn to behave in this culture and in this situation. And I agree with Mrs. Soto a hundred percent, he reacts aggressive, whenever he has, eh,

frustration because of lack of communication, and [J: Mhm], all the other things. I really think that maybe what we should do is to think how we could add those things without breaking confidenci- confiden [J: dentiality] confidentiality (heh heh). Sorry about that. Without breaking confidentiality, and without taking away what you have been observing in the class, but at the same time [M: Yeah, that's what I] giving a red light to the next teacher who reads this to be aware that there are cultural [J: Mhm] and linguistic factors and personality factors of Carlos, that are causing this. It's two different kinds of cause, one is the

S: You're talking of underlying and immediate

B: immediate, right, that is what an immediate cause [J: Mhm][that is the one that is not, eh, [S: easy to determine and underlying] easy to determine, but the underlying cause, so maybe a word added, like it is difficult to determine an immediate cause of the aggressiveness [S: Mhm] [J: Sure I think that] and

Blanca has now introduced a rather different perspective, as representative of the Hispanic support team; i.e., that cultural and linguistic differences are also a factor in Carlos' problem adjusting to the classroom. Note the implication that, therefore, the classroom environment--it's "structure"--therefore may need to be changed to accommodate such differences. Eileen rejects Blanca's suggestion:

E: You see usually, I mean all our kids come with a mixed bag of tricks, if you wanna use the expression. They all have something in their background that causes them to act the way they do, and that's not how we've written IEPs. I mean we write what we see.

At this point, the discourse begins to shift again. Eileen and Blanca struggle with each other to get the floor, with Blanca insisting they could rewrite the IEP to include some of these cultural and linguistic issues, and Eileen agreeing that they could "adjust" the wording. Mrs. Soto interrupts this to

reemphasize, "I don't like the way it's written." This gives Jane the opportunity to return to the point she has been maintaining throughout, that they look closely at the wording itself.

From this point on there is an increased focus on the wording of the IEP in the description of Carlos on the page, "Controlling One's Own Behavior." A number of issues are covered in this discussion. For awhile, Mrs. Soto maintains her stance that they could put some reasons, or if not that, at least put down that they cannot always determine the "immediate" causes of Carlos' behavior. For awhile, all seem to agree this word should be added. Then there is a discussion of the term "physically aggressive," which Mrs. Soto says she doesn't like, because it "has too much meaning," it suggests some really serious concern. Eileen argues that they can't "overlook that his aggression is a concern," and that in fact sometimes it is physical, and any future teacher must be forewarned.

This ball gets batted back and forth for some time, and then Mrs. Soto tells a revealing story. One day they were visiting friends and a child bit Carlos, and although he cried for quite some time, he didn't retaliate--until the next night when, the other child having done something "he didn't like," he "just went exactly to the same place where, you know, the kid bit him, and then he did exactly the same thing--next day!" Sally notes that in fact she has seen Carlos do that sort of thing in the classroom: something happens an hour before and then everything is calm, and suddenly he. . . ."

But Eileen argues that, although this can be true, he doesn't really take his aggression out on people--such as the Black boys in the room--who have pushed or hit him. Rather, he focuses on the much more passive girls who have never done anything to him.

After this discussion, Jane sums up some of the points that have been made and notes her concern that Carlos uses objects to hit other kids with. Then she brings the discussion back to the wording. They try out different wordings for the first couple of sentences, offering suggestions for how these may be interpreted by others. We cannot trace this discussion here, as it is rather lengthy. The upshot is that the wording of the IEP is changed in the following way. Here are the two versions, first and second, involving the only changes made:

> 1. Carlos often acts aggressive toward other children and it is difficult to determine the reason for his striking the child.
>
> 2. Carlos often acts aggressively toward other children and it is difficult to determine the reason for his striking out at the child.

The second IEP meeting lasted approximately one hour. There was an important immediate result, which was that the relationship between the teachers and Mrs. Soto had been damaged. Prior to this conflict, the teachers had welcomed Mrs. Soto into the classroom, inviting her in and treating her in a friendly manner. According to both our own observations and Mrs. Soto's report, after the second IEP meeting, the teachers were cold and formal, not smiling when they saw her, never inviting her to come in and sit down, and talking to her only about what could be

taken as official business. Mrs. Soto was surprised at this response, she told us, and she said she was also very angry with them. She felt that she had taken the school up on its offer to be open to parents and willing to listen to differences of opinion; yet, once she had expressed a disagreement, she got the "cold shoulder."

CONCLUSION

In the previous section I have tried to set out some of the details of one of our case studies as they progressed through the later stages of the intake process. In many ways the Soto family was atypical of our case study families, most of whom, as noted earlier had a very "peripheral" socioeconomic status in the metropolis. However, the uniqueness of the Soto family is revealing in attempting to understand how schools "noninvolve" Hispanic parents in educational decision making. In many ways, Mrs. Soto had knowledge and skills that our other parents did not have, which she felt helped establish rapport with professionals. She also shared many cultural values and beliefs with these professionals that most of our other parents did not. For example, although most of our other parents wanted their children to learn to speak and lipread, only one other parent--the mother of "Ana," who happened to have been trained as an elementary school teacher in Puerto Rico--had the explicit commitment to oral/aural education that Mrs. Soto had.

Most of our parents did not share Mrs. Soto's orientation toward the future, with her explicit plans for Carlos' education

and future career. Again, only Ana's mother had anything like this future orientation, but she, was just as concerned as most of our other parents that her child grow up to be buena gente ("good people"), a good member of her own community, and to be happy (as opposed to "successful"). Our parents all agreed education was important and believed and hoped their child would succeed in school and as a result get a decent job someday. But their aspirations for their children's future was rarely more precise than this.

Yet, despite the shared values, Mrs. Soto and school staff were never really able to resolve the "problem" of Carlos. Nothing was done to adjust the classroom environment; cultural and social explanations of his behavior were in effect ruled out; and only minor changes were made on the IEP. For several weeks after the second conference, Mrs. Soto was angry, and seriously considered withdrawing Carlos from the school and enrolling him in the Massachusetts school mentioned earlier. The actual resolution of the problem was that it, in a sense, went away: Carlos gradually calmed down and became less and less aggressive. A notable improvement in the "Controlling One's Own Behavior" category was noted on the end-of-the year "annual" IEP a few months later.

In general, we might suggest that in effect the second IEP conference discussed above served to reinforce certain boundaries having to do with rights and responsibilities on the one hand (i.e., social relations and power), and ideology (i.e., what could be thought about and said) on the other. Mrs. Soto was

allowed a voice in the IEP process, as we have seen, but not to have open discussion of how curriculum, pedagogy and social structure in the classroom related to Carlos' behavior. The issue is, of course, not who was "right" in terms of how to adjust classroom interaction to suit Carlos' needs, but rather that such adjustment--insofar as it involved basic interactional and ideological structures--was defined in practice as outside the discourse.

Thus, certain sets of categories--and in fact certain kinds of categorization--were reproduced. That is, they were treated as valid and decisions were based on them. For example, the category of controlling one's behavior was reinforced (or reified?) in that it was defined, for all practical purposes, as "belonging" to Carlos. His behavior was treated as one of his attributes, even though participants acknowledged that it might be related to his social context in some way when they came to explaining it. Carlos in this sense was defined in the context of the IEP process as a sort of isolated monad, rather than discussed as part of a web of social relations within which his behavior, and adult interpretations of that behavior, took on a particular shape. These social relations, we have tried to illustrate, included the classroom, as Mrs. Soto and the other parent mentioned above who expressed an opinion on the classroom believed. But it also extended beyond that classroom. That is, Carlos' "problem" seemed to have evolved out of a rather complex interaction of social and ideological forces mediated through the "significant others" in his experience: his mother, his teachers,

his peers in the classroom, his "counselor," and no doubt his grandparents (who remain powerful, but little understood, shadows in the background who can be glimpsed in fleeting references in our data).

Carlos made choices that, we believe, formed his response to a rather complex set of forces impinging on him and seeking to control him. In many ways his response--for example, "getting even" with the child who bit him, or attacking girls more than boys--might be seen as one person's interpretation of certain features of Hispanic "machismo." If so, we do not know from whom he might have learned such gender relations. Be that as it may, his behavior brought together participants in a struggle to make certain ideas, values and social relations hold true in a given institutional setting. It was a struggle that involved elements social scientists usually refer to as "gender," "ethnicity," "class," and "disability"--most of which were never directly discussed by the participants themselves. It would be interesting to speculate further on the precise role each of these categories of sociological analysis played in the intake process for our "Third World" people. However, that is beyond the scope of this paper (v. Bennett 1987, and forthcoming). We hope here to have at least adumbrated the subtle complexity of the workings of these forces within the general context of relations between schools and Hispanics.

One final point: it would seem that if "participant struggles" is anything nearly so subtle and complex as we have tried to suggest, there are no simple solutions to the kinds of

problems Carlos and his mother experienced in the school setting. It will not do, as so many would-be educational policymakers have it, simply to rationalize the bureaucracy further by "making our goals more explicit," and developing "rational" means of "implementation" and "evaluation" to carry them out (see, for example, the comments of Barranco 1984 on the education "crisis" reports). It is, in my view, a rather myopic approach to educational policy to further bureaucratize the system (see Duckworth's much more enlightened comments on the reports, 1984). What we are talking about here is not only a need to sensitize educators and other professionals to the cultural and communicative "differences" of minority groups like Hispanics. Rather, we are concerned with certain structures of power that affect even, in Mrs. Soto's case, someone who shares most of the "middle class" ideology the schools are founded on. How much more profoundly were our other families caught up in such structures, producing even more subtle and difficult "complexities" of social and cultural relationships than those discussed here (v. Bennett 1987 and forthcoming for further discussion of the other families in our case study ethnography).

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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

( )	=	untranscribable speech
(e e o o)	=	transcriber's best guess at difficult to understand speech (phonetic transcription)
[ ]	=	observer's description of participant acts
. . .	=	approximately 1/2 sec pause per dot
ye:s	=	lengthened vowel
ye::s	=	extra long vowel length
co:lor	=	underlined syllable has high pitch, heavy stress (w. lengthened vowel)
{neueve? } {uno }	=	overlapping speech of two or more persons

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APPENDIX B

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF VIDEOTAPE MC-C

1. M: What do you want to do?

2. C: ( )

3: M: Eh?

4. C: I don't know.

5. M: How many are there here, let's see. . . How many little cubes are there? . . . How many are there? Count... One.

6. C: One

7. M: Let's see

8. C: (Daa::)

9. M: Let's count. . .one. . . That doesn't fit, my love. . That doesn't fit there, papi. . . That is something

else, that is something else. Come, give me the little cube. . . Come, to teach you. . .okay. . .a good idea, okay. Oh, ay, look! Wait, how many are there, let's go. One, two, three, four little cubes. How many are there? Let's see.

10. C: One . two . . . nine

11. M: No, {nine? } No

12. { one } . . . (three). . four.

13. M: Four {little cubes}

14. C: { ah }

15. M: And of what color is this little cube, what {color}?

16. C: { two }

17. M: What color?

18. C: (three)

19. M: What color is this.

20. C: (ye::)

21. M: Listen. .what color?

22. C: (e e o o)

23. M: What color is this?

24. C: (da au chu)

25. M: What color is this?

26. C: (e e ov el)

27. M: Wait, child.

	Intake Date	Age Child Intake	Birth Place Father	Birth Place Mother	Birth Place Child	Marital Status	Arrival U.S. Father	Arrival U.S. Mother	Arrival U.S. Child
Ana Colón	9-18-84	6 Yrs. 2 Mos.	New York	Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico	Married	1980	1980	-----
Benito Escobar	10-9-84	3 Yrs. 10 Mos.	Domin. Rep.	Domin. Rep.	U.S.A.	Married	1967	1978	-----
Carlos Soto	11-13-84	3 Yrs. 0 Mos.	Iraq	Domin. Rep.	New York	Divorced	1975	1980	Oct. 1983 (From Domin. Rep.)
Elena Hirst	5-13-83	2 Yrs. 10 Mos.	Monte-video, Uruguay	Uruguay	Uruguay (Adop.)	Married	Feb. 1983	Feb. 1983*	Feb. 1983
Flor Valles	2-26-85	5 Yrs. 0 Mos.	Puerto Rico	New York	New York	Single	1961	-----	-----
Graciela Ortega	1-17-85	2 Yrs. 9 Mos.	Ecuador	El Salvador	New York	Single	1963	1975	-----
Hector Hernandez	7-29-85	3 Yrs. 1 Mo.	Ecuador	Ecuador	New York	Married	1969	1974	-----
Juan Castro	2-20-86	5 Yrs. 1 Mo.	Guayama, Puerto Rico (Deaf)	Santurce, Puerto Rico	San Jan, Puerto Rico	Single	1978	1978	Nov. 1984

*Elena's mother grew up in New York City, returning to Uruguay as a young adult.

6

Figure 1: Demographic Data on Case Study Families: Concordia

	Father Occupation	Mother Occupation	Father Ed. Level	Mother Ed. Level	Language Used At Home	Adults Living in Home	Birth Dates of Siblings	Social Services*				
								W	Med	SSI	Unempl	Food Stamps
Ana Colón	Hotel Worker	Homemaker	H.S. Diploma	4 Yrs. College	Spanish English	Father Mother	F.9/29/81		x	x		
Benito Escobar	None	Homemaker	11th Grade	10th Grade	Spanish English	Father Mother	F.10/13/76 F.2/5/83	x	x	x		x
Carlos Soto	Engineer	Homemaker	3 Yrs. College	1 Yr. College	Spanish	Mother	None		x	x		
Elena Hirst	Business-man	Homemaker	4 Yrs. College	High School Diploma	Spanish English	Father Mother Grand-mother Hsekpr	M.1/24/79 M.1984					
Flor Valles	None	Homemaker	12th Grade	8th Grade	Spanish English	Mother	M.8/9/77 (Deaf)	x	x	x		
Graciela Ortega	None	Homemaker	H.S. Diploma	9th Grade	Spanish	Mother Father	None	x	x	x		x
Hector Hernandez	Cook	Homemaker	4th Grade	6th Grade	Spanish	Mother Father	F.3/24/74 M.3/22/76 F.7/29/80 M.11/7/83 M.3/13/85	x	x	x		x
Juan Castro	Carpenter	Homemaker	School F/T Deaf		Span/Eng ASL	Mother	None		x	x		

*W: Welfare Med: Medicaid SSI: Supplemental Security Income

Figure 2: Occupational and Related Data on Case Study Families: Concordia

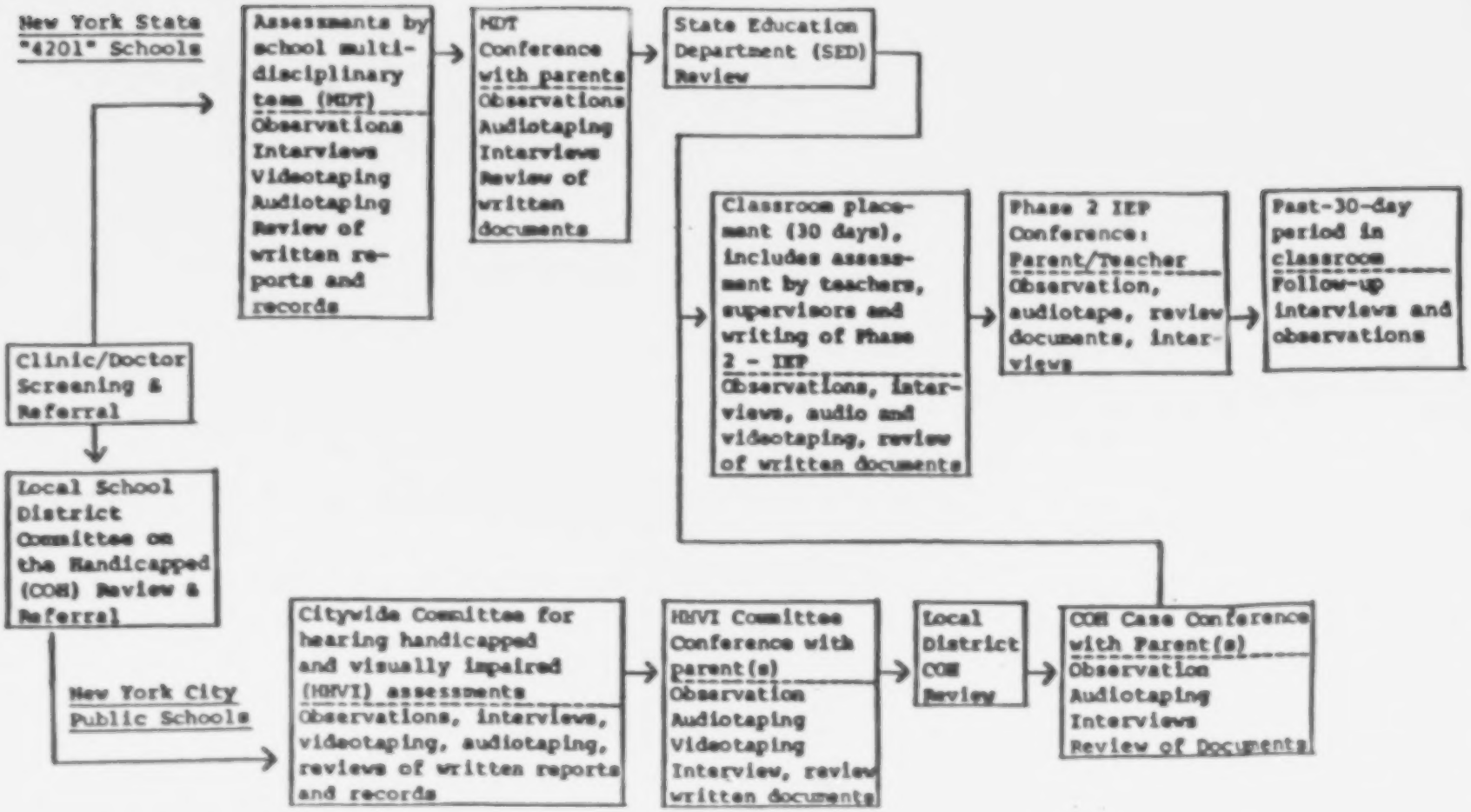
New York State "4201" Schools
Assessments by school multi-disciplinary team (MDT)
Observations
Interviews
Videotaping
Audiotaping
Review of written reports and records
MDT Conference with parents
Observations
Audiotaping
Interviews
Review of written documents
State Education Department (SED) Review
Classroom placement (30 days), includes assessment by teachers, supervisors and writing of Phase 2 - IEP
Observations, interviews, audio and videotaping, review of written documents
Phase 2 IEP Conference: Parent/Teacher
Observation, audiotape, review documents, interviews
Past-30-day period in classroom
Follow-up interviews and observations
Clinic/Doctor Screening & Referral
Local School District Committee on the Handicapped (COH) Review & Referral
New York City Public Schools
Citywide Committee for hearing handicapped and visually impaired (H&VI) assessments
Observations, interviews, videotaping, audiotaping, reviews of written reports and records
H&VI Committee Conference with parent(s)
Observation
Audiotaping
Videotaping
Interview, review written documents
Local District COH Review
COH Case Conference with Parent(s)
Observation
Audiotaping
Interviews
Review of Documents

Figure 3: Intake process for private state supported ("4201") and New York City Public Schools, and data-collection methods used at each stage

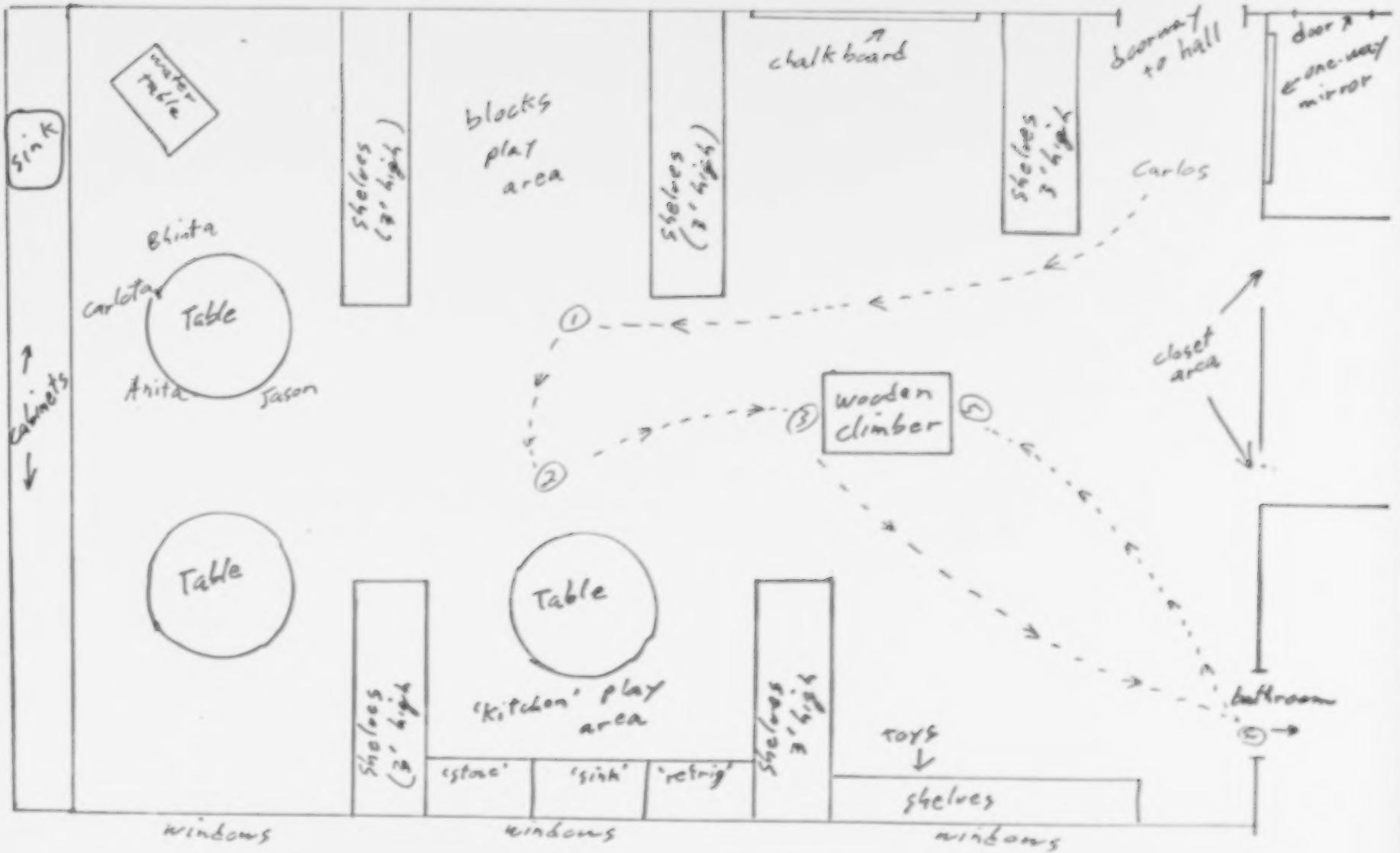

Figure 4: Carlos' movements in first 2 minutes after entering classroom.

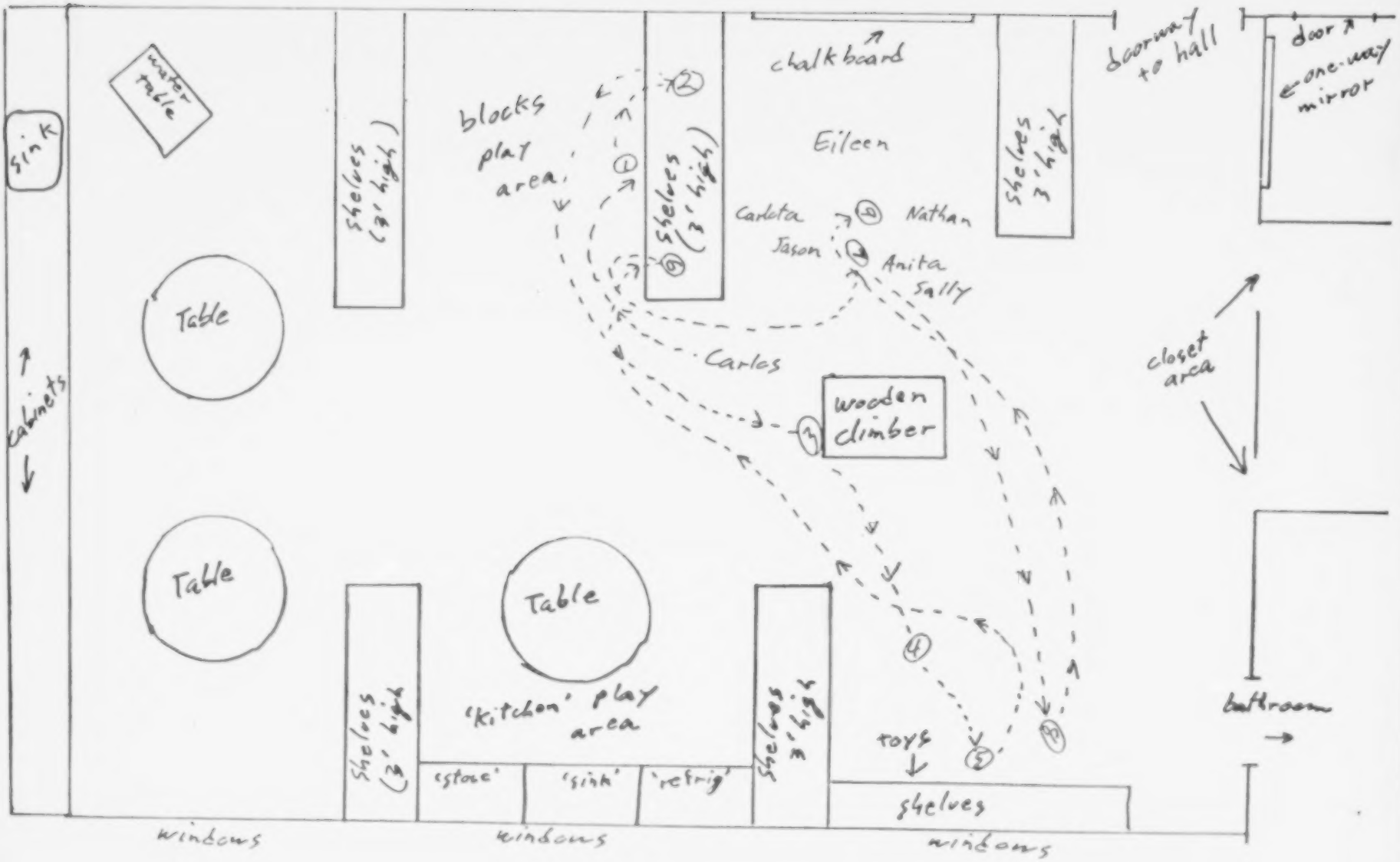

Figure 5: Carlos' movements while Eileen and Sally sit in reading circle with other children.